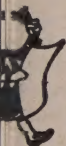


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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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What Do the Asian People Expect of America?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

J. J. SINGH

COL. BEN C. LIMB

NORMAN COUSINS



THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

on

**"Is Revolution Possible Inside Russia
Without War?"**

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Town Meeting

VOL. 17 No. 3



What Do the Asian People Expect of America?

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THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

NORMAN COUSINS—Editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*; Vice-President of United World Federalists; recently returned from India, where he interviewed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Cousins is a student of public affairs and political science, and has written and lectured widely on these subjects. Prior to his editorship of *The Saturday Review*, he was managing editor of the magazine, *Current History*. He is a member of the Board of Directors of both Freedom House and the American Civil Liberties Union, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and recently was chairman of the Governor's Fact-Finding Commission on Education in Connecticut. He is author of *The Good Inheritance: The Democratic Chance*, and *Modern Man is Obsolete*.

COL. BEN C. LIMB—Permanent Representative of Korea to the United Nations; former Foreign Minister of Korea. As chief of the Korean Mission to the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council sessions, Colonel Limb, American-educated Asian diplomat, is an active participant in diplomatic negotiations that influence the course of conflict in the Korean republic. In 1919, Colonel Limb became Secretary of the Korean Commission in America and Europe, whose purpose it was to organize a Korean revolt against Japan. He served on the Korean Commission in Washington, D.C., during the 1930's. He was Syngman Rhee's aide when Dr. Rhee was elected President of the Korean Republic in exile at Shanghai and for thirty years he served as his private secretary. This job terminated with his appointment as Foreign Minister in 1949.

SIRDAR J. J. SINGH—President of the India League of America; Special correspondent for the *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi; *Tribune Lahore*; *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, and accredited to the United Nations. As lecturer and author, J. J. Singh spearheaded the movement in the United States for India's freedom. He was founder and first president of the India Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., and a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He was also vice-president of the Indian Merchants' Association in London. Mr. Singh came to the United States in 1926 to operate India's concession at Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial Exposition. He remained in this country and is now president of Singh, Singh & Co., importing house in New York, Toronto and London, and of India Arts and Crafts, Inc.

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What Do the Asian People Expect of America?

Announcer:

(Continuing our spring tour of the Middle West, your Town Meeting is the guest tonight of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Evanston Hospital Association, an energetic and volunteer group of women dedicated to the advancement of the institution's interests, aiding its charitable activities, collecting books for patients, and assisting as nurses' aides. We are happy to join with the 10 members of this auxiliary and dedicate this program to their continued success in their great humanitarian endeavors. The Woman's Auxiliary has organized a host committee of leading citizens of the Chicago suburban communities of Winnetka, Glenview, and Evanston for the presentation of this program in the new Trier High School in Winnetka. We hope that this program will remind our listeners in these communities to continue their support of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Evanston Hospital Association.

And now, to preside over tonight's discussion, here is your moderator, the President of Town Hall and Founder of America's Town Meeting, George V. Denny, Jr.

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. It is good to be discussing this subject out here in the heart of the Middle West in Winnetka, Illinois, just north of Chicago. We're so used to looking at the rest of the world from our viewpoint that it might be well for us to consider tonight how we look to others in our particular goldfish bowl. The eyes of the world have been

turned on us since 1945. Indeed, the crowd is so great around our goldfish bowl that the people on the outskirts, who can't see for themselves, are being told by our enemies what horrible monsters we are. As the war against communism may be won or lost in Asia, it is important that we know what the Asian people think and expect of us.

So we've invited two Asians and an American who has just returned from Asia to help us explore this subject. We hear first from the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the Republic of Korea, who has spent a great deal of his life in this country, receiving his formal education and working for Korean independence. At the United Nations, he is referred to as the Big Little Diplomat whose strong, clear voice has been warning the members of this august body of Soviet intentions since 1946.

We are happy to welcome to Town Meeting Colonel Ben Limb, of the brave Republic of Korea, which has become the battleground of the fight for freedom against Soviet aggression.

Colonel Limb:

The Asian people have learned from America the truth of Stephen Decatur's statement: "He who fights for freedom anywhere fights for freedom everywhere." The blood of the Koreans and the Americans and other members of the United Nations forces that has been spilled on Korean soil has forever united the people of Asia and the people of America in their determined fight for liberty and democracy against aggression anywhere in the world.

The Asian people expect Amer-

ica's friendship and cooperation in their feverish efforts to re-orient themselves in industry, freedom and democracy.

On June 25, 1950, when the Communists, under the direction of Soviet Russia, unleashed a predatory aggression on the Republic of Korea, Asia was aghast. The Asians feared similar attacks on their own states. But within 24 hours, the United States vigorously came forward to repulse the aggressor.

This prompt action electrified the world. America kept faith with a small Asian nation. America's word was honored. The prestige of the United States among the Asians became sky-high. When the declared objective of the United Nations and the United States—namely, reunification of the Korean peninsula under a free, democratic, and independent republic—is finally accomplished, America will be a shining beacon for all Asians to see.

The Asians know that America has no imperialistic designs upon any nation in the world. The granting of complete independence to the Philippines has set a pattern for the liberation of other Asian nations, namely, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia. Contrasted to the American performance, the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union to swallow the whole world into communist slavery, as manifested in Eastern Europe and China, bring cold sweat to the people of Asia.

Excepting for a few fence-straddling leaders like Prime Minister Nehru, the Asian people as a whole can see with which of the two struggling giants of the world their destiny lies. They know who is right and who is wrong. The Asian people themselves realize

that there cannot be any neutrality in a struggle between right and wrong. Soviet propaganda notwithstanding, the Asians know that America is in the right.

The fulfillment of the Korean military objective will vouchsafe the faith of the billion Asians in American honor. They have already learned about the gallant tradition of American arms in the Pacific during World War II and in the Korean War. The recovery of Japan under American guidance is a further proof of America's sincere feeling toward the Asians. The Asian people expect manifestations of America in the light of what America has performed and is performing.

To summarize, I wish to state what basically the Asian people expect of America in her world leadership to do: First, to continue to fight with us until we achieve military victory over the communist aggressor.

Two, to arm the 500,000 Korean trainees so that Koreans may fight with a full force now and later, thus saving the lives of American men.

Three, release Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to save his countrymen from communist slavery.

Four, with engineering know-how and economic cooperation, only at the beginning, prime the Asian people to help themselves in reconstructing their industries and promoting freedom and democracy.

This, after all, is the only sure way to defeat communism permanently.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Colonel Limb.

Now that China has fallen to Soviet Russia, the next largest plum which it is clear she wants is the Republic of India, with

350,000,000 people. It is our good fortune tonight to have the President of the India League of America, who also knows this country well, since he came to the United States in 1926, to tell us that the Indian people expect America. The purpose of the India League is the promotion of understanding between the people of India and the people of America. Mr. Singh is in constant touch with the people of his country as special correspondent for several newspapers and as President of Singh, Singh Company—not a music publishing firm!—an important house of Indian arts and crafts in New York, Toronto, and London. We are glad to welcome Mr. J. Singh back to Town Meeting.

Mr. Singh:

There is a reservoir of goodwill among the people of Asia for the people of the United States. In American history, the American Constitution, and the Bill of Rights have always had tremendous appeal for the Asians.

I agree with Colonel Limb that the people of Asia have learned the true meaning of Patrick Henry's memorable words: "Give me liberty or give me death." Asians have often used this slogan in their struggle for freedom and liberty, and I believe this continues to inspire the Korean people in their struggle today.

However, every now and then, the Asians have been jolted by some of the actions and pronouncements of the Americans. Many times, America has seemed to us to be keeping bad company. In our eyes, the upholding of colonial powers or dictatorial regimes, in any part of the world, is un-American. The people of Asia expect the United States to be a

leader, not only in the race for armaments, but also in the reassertion of moral values.

For this reason, I cannot accept Colonel Limb's recommendation that a discredited leader like Chiang Kai-shek should be taken as a partner by the democracies. And Colonel Limb, I cannot let your statement about Prime Minister Nehru go unchallenged. I hope there will be time to talk about it later on.

Right now, the people of Asia are a little confused. They are afraid that the United States, in its fight against the new evil—international communism—may compromise with principles. The people of Asia realize that this new evil has to be fought, but they want it to be fought with clean hands.

In my country, India, our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, taught us a wonderful lesson—a lesson which I wish the whole world would take to heart. Mahatma Gandhi told us that we must respect the means to the end. And even though this way the struggle may be longer and harder, surely, Colonel Limb, you will agree with me on this point.

The people of Asia believe that for America to be just anti-communist is not enough. We believe that along with the plans for the destruction of world communism, there should also be plans for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of those living under sub-human standards.

If the Americans think that they cannot afford to indulge in giving help on a global scale, then they must realize that they cannot fight communism militarily on a global scale, either. We Asians cannot understand why America is preparing to spend billions to contain

communism by military means when, by spending much less, they could destroy the very seeds of communism throughout Asia by economic aid. You cannot defeat ideologies by guns alone. (*Applause*)

Let me give you one illustration. The India Food Bill has been before the United States Congress for almost three months. In the past, the whole world has known that Americans are humanitarian people. Yet, the India Food Bill has had brutal opposition in the United States Congress, and instead of its having passed in the very first week or so, it is still being badgered, kicked, and mauled. This has created tremendous disappointment, not only among the people of India, but among all the Asian peoples. And they are beginning to ask, is the very character of the American people changing? Would they betray the hungry?

To answer the question put to me a while ago, I certainly do not think that giving aid to hungry and starving people should be tied up with any political differences between India and the United States. That is not the American way.

Finally, we, the people of Asia, expect you to look into your hearts, reestablish in your thinking and action the principles upon which this great republic has been founded, and never to compromise with your tradition, history, and heritage.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, J. J. Singh.

When I asked Norman Cousins to speak on this subject, "What do the Asian peoples expect of America?" he replied, "What do you mean by the Asian people? The ruling two per cent, the fifteen

per cent literate people, or the eighty-five per cent who know little or nothing of the outside world, except perhaps that they are opposed to Western white imperialism?" "Well," I said, "do the best you can to make a composite picture. What we are particularly interested in are the people themselves and the forces that lead them."

So Norman Cousins, the much traveled editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* who has just returned from an extensive tour of Asia and has had several personal talks with Prime Minister Nehru, will you tell us what the Asian peoples expect of America?

Mr. Cousins:

Asia is in the headlines today. All the way from Iran to Korea, history is being made. What happens in Asia in the next few years may affect the lives of Americans for generations to come. That is why the subject of tonight's meeting is as important as any question before the American people.

At first, when we read about the news coming out of Asia, it seems difficult to get it into focus. In the Middle East, there is a battle over oil. In India, a new nation is struggling for very life. In Southeast Asia vast upheavals and revolutions are in the making. Despite the chaos and the confusion, however, there is a basic pattern to the varied troubles of Asia. If we take the long view of history, I think this is what we would see.

First, that the dominant struggle of the peoples of Asia in our times is for liberation. The word the Asian peoples most frequently use to describe it is nationalism. But whether you call it nationalism

liberation or independence, it presents the attempt of more than half the world's peoples to govern themselves, to break away from the control of outside rulers, some of whom have been benevolent, many of whom have been tyrannical, but all of whom have been foreigners.

Man is a strange animal. For one reason, he likes to own, not only things, but to own other men, and sooner or later the men on the bottom get together and turn on their would-be masters. This struggle for independence shouldn't be hard for Americans to understand—at least, not for those Americans who haven't forgotten their own history.

Next, the Asian peoples are hungry and they see a direct connection between that hunger and the whole economic system which has made them into land slaves. And the peasant farmer of Asia today wants to own the land he works. In this sense, it is a struggle for private property and private ownership. Something Americans should understand. Finally, the Asian peoples are struggling for self-respect. They have been treated as inferior beings for so long that they are determined to prove to themselves, as well as to others, that they can hold their heads high among their equals.

Thus we have not one, but three revolutions, in Asia today—all of them going on simultaneously: the revolution for national independence; the revolution for land reform; and the revolution of the people. Communism has tried to combine these revolutions and to use them for her own ends. The Soviet Union has put on the holy pose of being the champion of the Asian peoples. Communism has identified

itself with nationalism. It has identified itself with land reform. It has identified itself with social equality.

Incidentally, as it concerns land reform, it is interesting to note that communism's greatest appeal is on the basis of offering private property.

Now, what about the United States? I doubt if we are going to win over the Asian peoples merely by condemning communism, and here I agree with Mr. Singh. We have to come up with a dynamic and positive program of our own, a program that meets the particular needs of the Asian peoples, that can inspire them with our sincerity and our understanding of their problems, and that can enable the Asian peoples to see us as the champions of humanity.

Incidentally, as it concerns the question of wheat to India at a time when the Indian people are threatened with mass starvation, I can't think of any catastrophe to us in Asia, resulting from military loss in Korea, that would be nearly so damaging, so costly, as the collapse of American conscience in the incredible delay in sending wheat to India. (*Applause*)

Well, what is our program for the world? First, let's really develop the United Nations. Let's really put it to work. Let's build it up and give it the powers it needs to meet the double challenge of making this planet safe for human habitation and fit for human habitation.

Next, let's lead the fight against ideological communism by dramatizing democracy as the best way ever devised by the mind of man for achieving, not only the rights of man, but the needs of man, and then let's prove it. This war cannot be won on the battle-

field alone. It has to be won by leadership of real moral stature and imagination. It has to be won with ideals.

America became great because she wasn't afraid to shine up her ideals and live them out, and that, I believe, is not only what Asia is waiting for, but what the entire world is waiting for.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Norman Cousins. Now, we've come to that part of the program where the speakers can ask each other questions before we take the questions from the audience. Colonel Limb, will you start us off?

Colonel Limb: Mr. Singh, you said that you cannot recognize Chiang Kai-shek in China. Then, do you recognize the Chinese Communists?

Mr. Singh: My answer is no, definitely no. I believe in double negation. I believe in condemning the wrong man, whoever he is, wherever he is. I don't believe in upholding a bad man just because you haven't got a good man. That is why I am against Chiang Kai-shek, a man who is discredited. And I do not know of a single Asian, be he Pakistan, Burmese, Ceylonese, that I have met so far who would stand by Chiang Kai-shek. No sir, I am against Mao Tse-tung, just as I am against Chiang Kai-shek.

Mr. Cousins: Mr. Singh seems to be out on a limb—or should I say, Colonel Limb? (*Laughter.*) I would just like to ask both speakers whether they agree with me that the only way you can really end the Korean War and get a decisive victory in Korea is by developing UN forces in Korea to whatever extent those UN forces are necessary. Let's really convert this into a real United Nations War, and

not have it a token United Nations War. Do you agree?

Colonel Limb: I agree.

Mr. Singh: I am absolutely and wholeheartedly for that.

Mr. Cousins: I think I'll go home now.

Mr. Denny: Wait a minute, Mr. Singh. You say you agree, but do you know what you are agreeing to? That's a very important question Mr. Cousins has asked. There are only a very few other nations who are over there with the Koreans and the United States force fighting communist aggression. Now, what about all these other nations, some of whom have sent token forces, but none of whom have come out in real force?

Mr. Singh: I think the real significance of Korea and of who is actually at the back of it is now coming to the forefront. When it first started, I happened to be in London, and I heard Englishmen talk in a way as if it was just America's private struggle. But when I left England two months later, the same summer, it was no more a private struggle of the American people. Therefore, I think, Mr. Denny, that the full realization of the significance of the fight that is going on in Korea is now being realized, and I think the other nations will come forth with greater help.

Mr. Cousins: Mr. Denny, I didn't mean to reflect on those nations that have already sent help. What I have in mind is this. I think that we need force in Korea. I don't know whether that force is to be measured in terms of two million men or five million men, 10 million men or 20 million men. But whatever figure is necessary to achieve victory in Korea should be provided by the United Nations.

But I do not think that force

ough. I think that a world police force has to be backed by world law. And that is why I believe in the fullest possible development of the United Nations—to give the powers to make, enact, interpret and enforce world law.

Mr. Denny: Well, Mr. Cousins, what is keeping them back from doing that?

Mr. Cousins: I am afraid, Mr. Denny, that there is a bugaboo known as national sovereignty. National sovereignty, I believe, is a myth to begin with. Who was sovereign at Pearl Harbor? We weren't sovereign at Pearl Harbor. The test of a nation's sovereignty is its ability to get into war or stay out of it, and I believe that that decision has now been taken out of the hands of the individual nations. I believe that there is no such thing as national sovereignty in the essential sense. I believe today that there must be a higher sovereignty, a higher sovereignty based, as I said a moment ago, on the needs of man and also on the rights of man. And I am hoping that the United States will take the leadership in the United Nations to give it that development within the shortest possible time, in order to avert World War III.

Mr. Singh: I just want to take the opportunity of answering one question that Colonel Limb had raised about the much repeated and oft-repeated and wrongly repeated fact that India is neutral in this present struggle, or that Prime Minister Nehru is neutral. We are *not* neutral. We have stated so, many times, but somehow you have pinned this little thing onto us, and you're taking a very long time to unpin it. I wish you would unpin it right away, because we are not neutral

between evil and good. We shall always, in the final analysis, be with the democracies, because we are a democracy. We shall always fight along with the democracies. *(Applause)*

Colonel Limb: I am very glad to hear that, and I always expected that India was a sister nation, upholding the right under the concept of Mahatma Gandhi, and I would like to see the realization of this statement soon.

Mr. Cousins: This is a question on which there is a great deal of feeling. When I was in India a few weeks ago, I was deeply disturbed by this question, and I tried to look into it just as deeply as I possibly could. I put some really quite severe questions to the Prime Minister about his stand on communism. I asked him whether, if communism moved against India, India would resist. He said, "Absolutely, we will not, under any circumstances, allow communism to move against us. We will resist and we are ready."

The next question I asked him was what steps India was taking to meet the threat of communism on the homefront, and he said, "I suspect we are doing, perhaps, a great deal more than other countries are doing." He looked at me and he said, "You know communism is outlawed in at least two of the Indian states." I do know that just the day before I had spoken to the Prime Minister, two Communists were shot—I believe in Bengal—as terrorists.

So it is not a black and white question, and I do hope that the American people will not jump to conclusions. India today is in perhaps the most difficult position that any country has ever been in, I believe. It is a prisoner of geography, perhaps a prisoner of his-

tory. I believe that the Prime Minister of India is oriented to the United States. I think that the easiest way, however, to give India the impetus to communism is for the American people today to tie political strings to a simple act

of mercy, as in the case of the Wheat Bill.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Norman Cousins. Now, there are a great many people here in this fine Winnetka audience who are ready to ask questions.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: We'll start our question period with the gentleman over here on the right.

Man: Colonel Limb, do you think that Chiang Kai-shek has the support of the majority of the Chinese people?

Colonel Limb: We shall have to try that out. Chiang Kai-shek has been driven away from the mainland by the communist leaders, and the people themselves—450 million of them, nearly half a billion of them—didn't have anything to say about it. Let's ask the people, and then we'll find out whether he has their popular support or not. This is merely on the surface between him and Mao Tse-tung and his followers.

Lady: Mr. Singh, since Nehru said, when he was here, that India does not need any gifts, why is it that we have to give food to India now?

Mr. Singh: India did not ask for a gift. It was the President's desire, in the tradition of America's background of always wanting to give and not selling food to the hungry people, that the bill should be made into a gift. We asked for terms, easy and special terms for a loan. We did not ask for a gift, and we would be grateful if the loan is given instead of a gift.

Lady: Mr. Cousins, according to treaties signed by the United States, Formosa belongs to China.

Considering our present stand, as expressed by General Marshall last week, what is our moral position in China now?

Mr. Cousins: You can start peeling off the layers of this thing and keep going back all the way to 1904 in that particular case. I believe that the policy of the United States at the present moment is not to allow ourselves to get involved in the Soviet trap in China—a trap which might mean 5 to 10 million American lives—so I think that that policy is sound. And if at the present moment, involving Formosa, or rather springboarding Chiang Kai-shek onto the mainland, would result in that wider war, I would be opposed to it for every possible reason—military, moral and every reason you can think of.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Cousins, I think you ought to point out, though, in this connection, that the United States still recognizes the Chinese Nationalist Government. And when it says China, it means the Chinese Nationalist Government. When Britain says China, they mean the Chinese Communist Government. So there you are.

Lady: Mr. Singh, is it true that Russia is sending wheat to India, and if so, how should this fact affect our Asian policy?

Mr. Singh: It is true that Russia has recently announced this.

Somehow they always beat the democracies in getting the propaganda. They have got nothing but propaganda value out of it. They are sending us only 50 thousand tons of wheat, while our needs run into six million tons. The only country that can afford to spare that much of a quantity, like the two million tons that we have asked for, is the United States; but it is very unfortunate that while this haggling and this talk is going on in Washington, the Russians jumped the gun, so to say, took advantage, and sent us the 50 thousand tons it had promised. It is reported that it is already on the way on Russian ships. As to how it will affect our Asian policy, I don't think it has any merit at all. I don't think that the people of India are going to be fooled that easily. (Applause)

Man: Colonel Limb, assuming we come to Asia, do you think the Asians want the foreigners to leave and not return?

Colonel Limb: The world has become too small for that sort of thing. That may have been all right in the 18th century, but in the 20th century, with all the modern development of transportation, the science of communication, we are to live together. So, the people who are in the East are here for some definite purpose, and we welcome them to stay as long as they want to. We should learn how to live together—East and West.

Man: Mr. Cousins, do Asiatics at the United States to stand up to them against all forms of foreign control, vested interests, colonialism?

Mr. Cousins: That's a pretty big question. I doubt whether I can give you any answer, but I should

certainly say that that's my impression.

Man: Mr. Cousins, you said you believe in sending all the needed troops to Korea. Do you believe in bombing Manchuria, too? In other words, going into all-out warfare with China?

Mr. Cousins: Well, when I spoke about sending troops to Korea, I was talking about making this a real United Nations war. I was talking about as many as were necessary. Now I believe this: that the question of the bombing of China will be decided, not in Washington, and not at Lake Success, but it will be decided in Moscow, and it will be decided in Peiping. If the Chinese go all out against us, then the question becomes academic.

While we still have a chance, I believe we ought to issue an ultimatum to the Chinese government and say, "You will be confronted with world power. You will be confronted with 5 million men or 10 million men as a real United Nations police army." And then let China make the decision. No one now can say whether World War III can be averted. I would like to be able to say, myself, which I cannot, that everything possible is being done to avert that war. That is the type of program that, I hope, may be defined.

Lady: Colonel Limb, how do the Asians react to the fact that our Congress refuses to grant statehood to Hawaii in spite of our promises?

Colonel Limb: Well, of course, the Hawaiian problem is a strictly American domestic problem, so the Asian people as a whole in the East, in Asia, do not have any pronounced opinion on the subject, except, of course, those Asians who are living in the Hawaiian Islands,

and they feel with the rest of the Hawaiian Islands that they would like to have statehood. That's all that I can say on that subject.

Mr. Denny: All right. I think the question, though, Colonel Limb, was within the province of tonight's discussion, because so many of the people of the Hawaiian Islands, as we know, came from Asia.

Colonel Limb: The people are under the American government, living under the American government, and the American protection and American bounty, and they are all grateful there, and their own government feels the same. As for the statehood, it is strictly, as I said, an American problem, and the people in Asia do not know much about it.

Mr. Denny: May I help you just a little on that question, Colonel Limb? We had a debate on the question of statehood, and I might say that even the people who opposed statehood did not oppose it at all on the grounds that are implied in that question—of race. They opposed statehood purely on the grounds of the fear of communism. That was the entire burden of the argument.

Col. Limb: I think the ground was well taken on the subject, Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman over here, please.

Man: Mr. Singh, why shouldn't India accept the UN arbitration of its dispute with Pakistan and secure the grain from Pakistan in trade?

Mr. Singh: Well, I think I'll take the last part first. You have probably missed that there was on the 25th of February a trade agreement between the government of India and the government

of Pakistan, whereby India is buying the last kernel of rice and the last bushel of wheat that Pakistan can spare. We are buying it from them now, and we'll take all that they will be able to spare us and to sell to us all through 1951, which is our crucial year, when we are threatened with famine.

As regards the question of the UN arbitration, I think it is a very long and debated question, and I think if I started on that, George Denny would pull me down. It's not just as simple as all that—yes or no, or take it or leave it.

Mr. Denny: Yes, I've started pulling your coattail already, Mr. Singh. That question really would have been ruled out, if he hadn't put the last part of the question in. Thank you very much, but that is another long and involved question. Maybe when we get out to India and Pakistan again we'll have courage enough to tackle that question with Prime Minister Nehru and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, but not tonight.

Lady: Mr. Cousins, do you believe that peace, world peace, could be achieved through negotiation without appeasement, if America lived up to her highest moral responsibilities?

Mr. Cousins: I do. I believe that any peace that involves the sacrifice of not only honor, but means that we've got to scuttle all our values, or get down on our knees, is no peace at all. I believe that it is possible to have peace in our own time, peace with honor, peace with justice, but peace, first of all, with imagination, with some real moral stature. And as I said before, I can think of no better way to implement the

principles than to have the United States define the requirements of peace in the United Nations, whatever that means, and then stand behind it.

Man: Colonel Limb, did the Government which the United States supported in South Korea inspire the people with confidence that they would have the land and other reforms that they wanted?

Col. Limb: Yes, as a matter of fact, the land reform had been progressing through over 80 per cent of the whole country, when of a sudden this war was unleashed upon us. And as soon as this war is over, not only the land reform will be continued, but the other aspects of government, education, and economy will go forward.

Man: Mr. Singh, how can we ever know whether the Asians are willing to cooperate with our desire to create a peaceful world?

Mr. Singh: I think you shouldn't be in such a doubtful mind. I think, on the contrary, you should

have a little patience, and understand the way that the people of Asia have lived for hundreds of years under foreign domination. You should try and understand how their minds work. That's my appeal to the American people, to have a little more patience. Don't be so impatient with the peoples of Asia. For instance, my country India—we have been free only three years and a half. What do you expect, miracles from us? It takes time to be able to visualize ourselves as free people, act as free people, and join you; but ultimately, as I said before, we will be with you.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, J. J. Singh, Colonel Ben Limb, and Norman Cousins for your valuable contribution to tonight's discussion. Our thanks, too, to our splendid host organization, the Woman's Auxiliary of Evanston Hospital. Continue to support them.

So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.

A MATTER OF FACT

By Norman Cousins

In all the clamor of debate over the current Wheat to India Bill, it is important to bear in mind that American wheat is now being shipped to India. In April alone, for example, grain loadings, all by Government agencies, in ships chartered by the Government or operated by the Government through general agencies, shipped 295,000 long tons—in farmers' language, a total of 11,013,333 bushels of wheat. The Columbia River ports contributed 2,296,000 bushels of that export business.

The CCC informed Oregon Senator Wayne Morse that an average of one shipment a day is dispatched from American ports to India and that March, April, and May shipments may total 300,000 to 900,000 tons. This is the equivalent of 94 average cargoes.

FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Now that you have read the opinions of the speakers on the subject, "What Do the Asian People Expect of America?" you are probably ready to draw your own conclusions. In making up your mind, you may want to consider the following important background questions.

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1. What basic similarities and differences are there between Asians and Americans?
 - a. What compromises can and should we make which will enable us to meet on common ground?
 2. Does our foreign policy neglect the views of Asia?
 - a. Is the U. S. attempting to "Americanize" the Asian countries?
 - b. Is the U. S. monopolizing the United Nations?
 3. What do the Asians think of us individually and as a nation?
 - a. Are Americans too materialistic?
 - b. Do we tend to arouse envy instead of friendship among Asians?
 4. What effect has our delay on the grain-for-India bill had on Asia, particularly in view of the fact that Communist China has been sending rice?
 5. Are we backing the "wrong" governments in Asia?
 - a. Does the Chinese Communist or Nationalist government represent the majority of the Chinese people?
 - b. By backing Bao-Dai and the French policy in Indo-China, are we identifying ourselves with imperialism in Asian eyes?
 6. Do we understand fully enough the social, economic, and political situation in Asia, and the striving of Asians for independence?
 7. How can we help Asia raise her standard of living?
 - a. Should Marshall Plan aid be extended to Asia?
 - b. Has Point 4 had any appreciable effect in Asia?
 - c. Should economic aid be contingent upon political concessions?
 8. Can Asia remain neutral in the clash between Communism and the free world?
 9. Are we telling Asia about democracy in terms that seem meaningful and attainable to them?
 - a. How can we help the Asians understand us?
 - b. How can we learn to understand the Asians?

THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

S REVOLUTION POSSIBLE INSIDE RUSSIA WITHOUT WAR?"

Program of May 8, 1951

S p e a k e r s

Mr. Maurice Hindus

Mrs. Ada Siegel

Mr. John Scott

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Each week we print as many significant comments on the preceding Tuesday's broadcast as space allows. You are invited to send in your opinions, pro and con. The letters should be mailed to Department A, Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y., no later than Thursday following the program. It is understood that we may not publish any letters or comments received.

SPEAKER SPEAKS UP

The program was fuzzy. No sharp distinction was drawn between the Russians' desire to make a revolution, and our wish to have them do so. Yet these two concepts are as different as the dentist's feeling for a toothache, and the patient's. Further: we never got into the question of how one makes a revolution in a police state, from the inside or the outside; we barely mentioned the possible results of a revolution in Russia. Most of the time was spent in arguing about points of fact without bringing out any new facts. — JOHN SCOTT, New York City.

NECESSITY

In Russia . . . (there is) a vast number of nonproducing bureaucrats who must be fed and clothed by slave labor. When the slaves become too weak and cannot produce enough, these bureaucrats must either rise in revolt against

their oppressors and return to . . . work, or else they must plunder other nations for slave labor. This is why it is necessary that the Russian people should be encouraged to revolt, which will automatically veto World War III. But there is no use in revolting if the same system they revolted against in 1917 is allowed again. . . . We must tell (the Russians) how to correct their economic distress. — R. E. FLEISCHMAN, Montreal, Que.

MEANINGFUL

. . . One of the most honest and ably presented programs I have ever heard. The fact that it stayed close to the every-day problems instead of dealing entirely with intangibles made it the more meaningful. — KITTY ROBINSON, New York City.

NOT TO BE EXPECTED

The people of Russia have never known anything better than the life they lead. Army units which

saw Western civilization were not sent home, but to distant parts of the Soviet territory. The Iron Curtain makes sure the people at home don't learn any of these things. In the over-all picture there has been no change in Russia since the times of Peter the Great. Before, the collective farms were owned by the Czar or aristocracy; now they are owned by the state and administered by the new aristocracy or managerial set. All this shows that they have been under this system for centuries. To people who have lived through the famines and wars the Russian people have lived through . . . small changes or improvements, especially if they seem to be part of a large master plan, mean much.

To a man out in the cold, being allowed to share a room with fifty

others is a luxury. . . . After the war 25 million Russians were homeless, but now the Soviets claim to have housed them. They don't say how, but anything is better than nothing. Most people forget that Russians do not react like Americans. They have much of the Oriental culture and nature about them. In expecting revolution of the Russians, we are expecting something we won't expect of saints. The people had their revolution, but it was stolen from them when the Soviets dispersed the Constituent Assembly. —BURTON A. KOLMAN, Chicago, Ill.

THE HOME FRONT

Next Tuesday, the subject should be "Is Revolution in the United States Possible Without War?" —MRS. PATRICK X. LINSKY, Trenton, New Jersey.

"TOWN MEETING" ON TOUR

Many of our broadcasts this spring and summer will originate in different cities throughout the United States. Local organizations serve as the hosts for tour broadcasts. For further information, write to Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y.